

# Pacific Affairs

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Security: "Plus Ça Change . . ."**

*Chaiwat Khamchoo*

Japan has played a predominantly economic role in Southeast Asia since World War II, avoiding political and military entanglements. The recent waning Soviet posture and the U.S. aim of reducing its presence in this region raise the question of whether Japan would be obliged to play a larger — or different — political or military role. This paper argues that there is little reason to expect any major change in Japan's policy toward Southeast Asia in the coming decade. The success of past policy, coupled with the reluctance of the regional states to press for a greater military role, argues against change and reinforces the determination of the Japanese to continue on their largely economic role with respect to Southeast Asian security. Japan's dominance continues to be economic rather than military.

### **Federal Policy and U.S. Territories: The Political Restructuring of The United States of America**

*Joseph E. Fallon*

The restructuring of the federal union by Congress and the presidents has resulted in the establishment of two rival hierarchies. In one, which is composed of the fifty states, the U.S. Constitution applies in full, and the relationship between state and federal governments is clear. In the other, which consists of the eight insular territories, the U.S. Constitution does not apply in full, the relationship with the federal government is ambiguous, and while they collectively possess an identity distinct from the states, each of these islands is different in the scope of their respective political jurisdictions. By first reviewing UN General Assembly Resolutions, and next analyzing the U.S. Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the historic pattern for terminating territorial status, the U.S. Supreme Court decisions, the conclusion is reached that the "non-statehood" status of these territories is unconstitutional.

### **China Adjusts to the World Economy: The Political Economy of China's Coastal Development Strategy**

*Dali L. Yang*

This study examines the origins as well as consequences of China's export-oriented Coastal Development Strategy, which was launched in early 1988 by then General Secretary Zhao Ziyang as one of two major policies designed to give him initiative in Chinese politics. Though adoption of the strategy helped boost China's export volume, it also increased demand on China's domestic economy and contributed to the inflationary spiral that attended the launching of price reforms. The coastal development strategy thus served to exacerbate China's economic problems and bring on China's political crisis, including Zhao's own fall from power in 1989. Nevertheless, China's export orientation has survived Tiananmen and it furnishes fresh evidence that there is still room for latecomers in the world economy.

## Japanese Manufacturing Investment in Australia: Corporations, Governments and Bargaining

*David W. Edgington*

The operations of Japanese corporations in Australia and their relationship with governments are evaluated by means of a "bargaining approach" to studying direct foreign investment. Case studies are given of a resource-processing project and the proposed "multifunction polis" — a technology-based satellite city with resort, leisure and cultural components. It is concluded that due to Japanese corporate behaviour, and weaknesses in Australian government bargaining, satisfactory spin-offs from Japanese investments have, to date, not occurred. It is speculated whether the Australian government has learned how to negotiate better with the Japanese over the implementation of "multifunction polis." A wider conclusion emerges, which is that considering the likely growth of Japanese corporate activity in the Pacific, a broader strategy may be required by host country governments to ensure full participation by local firms in Japanese investment projects.

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## ABSTRACTS

### **The Association of Southeast Asian Nations: "Security Community" or "Defence Community"?**

*Amitav Acharya*

A number of emerging security threats and the prospective settlement of the Cambodia conflict have produced a search for new regional security arrangements in Southeast Asia. This paper looks specifically at the proposal for an ASEAN defence community. Such a direction for ASEAN would represent a major shift from the hitherto preference for bilateral security ties among its members. The paper argues that the idea of an ASEAN defence community not only faces serious barriers, but if implemented, would undermine ASEAN's role as a "security community" in promoting peaceful settlement of intra-regional conflicts. As a framework for regional order, ASEAN's credibility lies in promoting reconciliation with the Indochinese states. As such, its security interests are better served by expanding the scope of political cooperation in post-Cambodia Southeast Asia than by adopting a military role.

### **Trade Between China and ASEAN: The Impact of the Pacific Rim Era**

*Fred Herschede*

Although in recent years China and the members of ASEAN have used foreign trade as a vehicle to promote rapid modernization, economic trade relations between the two regions have not become closer or more significant. The fundamental reason for the relatively small amount of trade between China and ASEAN is that their economies are so much alike. Their respective comparative advantages are in products that are substitutes for one another, rather than complements to one another. Sino-ASEAN trade is not going to advance unless there are changes in the structure and level of technological development in the respective economies as well as deliberate policies to broaden the base of trade partners.

### **The Soviet Attitude Towards the Indo-Sri Lankan Problem**

*Amal Jayawardane*

Soviet and Indian views on the Sri Lankan situation in the 1980s were strikingly similar. What brought about such a coincidence of viewpoints was basically the mutuality of their threat perceptions regarding the external power involvement in the region. Both Moscow and New Delhi became suspicious of the pro-Western tilt of Sri Lankan foreign policy in the eighties, which was interpreted as having a destabilizing effect on the security of the region. Soviet analysts were, however, hardly innovative in their reporting on the Indo-Sri Lankan problem. Instead of reaching their conclusions through independent analysis, they uncritically adopted the Indian rhetoric on Sri Lanka. As a result, they never offered a critical evaluation of India's role in the Sri Lankan crisis. In these days of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, however, Soviet specialists themselves have now begun to question the rationale of looking at South Asia through the Indian prism.



**Valery Burati and the Formation of Sōhyō during the  
U.S. Occupation of Japan**

*John Price*

The political origins of Japan's largest central union, Sōhyō (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), has long been the subject of debate. Founded in 1950 with the apparent support of the U.S. Occupation, Sōhyō quickly overcame its shadowy origins to become Japan's most adversarial union federation and an avid opponent of U.S. foreign policy in Asia. Valery Burati, a former union organizer in the U.S., was the chief Occupation liaison officer with the labour movement in Japan in the 1948-1951 period. His alliance with Takano Minoru and the non-Communist left in the labour movement was an important factor in creating the conditions for Sōhyō's sudden transformation. It also got Burati into trouble with the Jay Lovestone — Irving Brown — Richard Deverall cabal in the American Federation of Labor.

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## ABSTRACTS

### **The Limits of Liberalization in Industrializing Asia: Three Views of the State**

*James Cotton*

Pluralist, political culture, and statist analysis approaches to the state offer differing accounts of the sources and causes of political and social liberalization. The failure of liberalization to emerge in the Asian NICs (Newly Industrialized Countries) is explained from each of these perspectives, and the prospects for future liberalization are generally found to be limited despite recent political changes. Following an attempt to offer an integrated analytical view of the state, a prognosis is offered of the consequences for the Asia-Pacific regional order of the continued existence of largely non-liberal NIC state systems.

### **Japanese Engineers and American Myth Makers**

*Earl H. Kinmonth*

Various authors have ascribed the Japanese success in medium and high technology fields to greater numbers of and higher status for engineering graduates than is the case in the U.S. Close examination of this highly plausible assertion reveals it to be based on a statistical illusion. When the same definition of "engineer" is applied to both countries, the Japanese "superiority" in numbers and status disappears.

Real differences between Japan and the U.S. do, however, exist. Far more engineers are lost to the military and the arms industry in the U.S. than in Japan. Japanese graduates in engineering do not enjoy a pay premium relative to non-technical graduates and the Japanese engineer has more contact with and respect for production workers than does his American counterpart.

The sloppiness of American writing on Japan and the enthusiasm with which ungrounded claims are broadcast by the media and academics indicate that Americans are still not taking Japan seriously. The emphasis on alleged numerical superiority diverts attention from real and more significant differences.

### **China's Dialogue with the Dalai Lama, 1978-1990: Prenegotiation Stage or Dead End?**

*Dawa Norbu*

Perhaps the most significant political development in the post-1959 Sino-Tibetan politics is the dialogue that Deng Xiaoping initiated with the Dalai Lama in December, 1978. This paper attempts to analyse the substance and spirit of the twelve-year-long Beijing-Dalai Lama talks.

Two exploratory talks were held in Beijing in 1982 and 1984 which indicated that the Chinese leaders were not willing to accede to any of the Tibetan political demands including the "one country - two systems" formula. This compelled the Dalai Lama to make his demands public in Washington and Strasbourg. China rejected these demands in early 1990.

During the talks at various levels, both sides indicated their respective parameters of negotiation, identified major issues for future agendas and revealed their differences over critical issue-areas which would have to be minimized if a mutually acceptable settlement is to be reached. What the Sino-Tibetan dialogue suggests is that negotiation requires not only a bilateral willingness to compromise on conflicting interests but also willingness of the two negotiating powers to enforce any compromise solutions to the conflicting interests. This article concludes that Beijing does not feel compelled either internally or externally to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, except under its own terms and conditions.

## **Market Reforms and Changes in Crop Productivity: Insights from China**

*Benedict Stavis*

A complex combination of factors, leading to stagnation and declining productivity in crop production for five years, has created a quiet crisis in China's agriculture. It is closely related to China's political crises of the late 1980s that led to the demonstrations and repression at Tiananmen in 1989. A key factor that led to the discontent was increases in food prices in the previous year. The government had to raise food prices to compensate for declining agricultural productivity and to enable farmers to purchase more inputs on which high levels of production depend.

When market reforms were introduced in China during the 1980-84 period, agricultural productivity went up about 15 percent. (This combines improvements stemming from technical and structural change, and does not include increases in production due to increased inputs.) During the 1985-89 period, however, productivity declined for many reasons, and most of the gains of the early 1980s were lost. Additional policies were required to stabilize and consolidate the emerging market system.

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Japanese Space Enterprise: The Problem of Autonomous Development**

*William D. Wray*

For over two decades Japan has been following a low-profile, but increasingly effective, policy for its space enterprise, developing satellites, rockets, and technologies for international projects. The U.S. has recently come to oppose these policies as barriers to imports. However, a 1989 agreement, under which Japan will purchase satellites for commercial use on the open market, reflects not only U.S. pressure but also fiscal difficulties that Japan has experienced in funding a whole range of projects.

Some likely effects of this agreement are reliance on consortium arrangements among Japanese satellite manufacturers and greater stress on strategies of international collaboration. The agreement also reduces the potential domestic market for Japan's H-2 rocket, presently being developed, creating more pressure on the rocket industry to diversify its market through international commercial bids. This commercialization policy is likely to be opposed by the U.S., even though the U.S. itself seeks Japanese funding for international space projects.

### **Sustainable Development in New Caledonia**

*Donna Winslow*

This paper addresses the issue of sustainable development in New Caledonia and the consequences of this for the future self-determination of the territory. Specifically, it asks whether New Caledonia will benefit from the development program known as the Matignon accords or whether it will be adversely affected by it. Will the Matignon accords lead to the ecologically sustainable growth which is necessary for long-term economic independence?

The author argues that the current development policies in New Caledonia should not be limited to the economic level alone. For development to be truly sustainable, native wisdom and knowledge need to be incorporated into the development paradigm being used to implement socioeconomic change in the territory — not only at the grassroots level but at the national policy level as well.

### **The Politics of Interest Representation in the Japanese Diet: The Case of Agriculture**

*Aurelia George*

The paper examines in detail the nature and characteristics of agricultural representation in the Diet in an attempt to document more fully the political explanation for Japan's agricultural protection. Based on questionnaire and sample surveys of Japanese "agricultural representatives," the paper establishes that farm politicians are still numerically significant in the Diet and the strong alliance between agricultural interests and the ruling conservatives remains intact. The intensity of connections between politicians and agricultural interests varies, however, with many Diet members extending their representation over a range of interests. Nevertheless, more than one quarter have formal leadership ties to farm organizations, and many more receive electoral support from agricultural groups. Once in the Diet, farm politicians can often be found in positions of influence over agricultural policy. These patterns help to explain why the political power of the farm sector continues to exceed its importance in the national economy.

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## John King Fairbank (1907-1991)

JOHN FAIRBANK died of heart failure in Cambridge, Massachusetts on September 14, 1991, two days after delivering to the Harvard University Press his most recent manuscript, *A New History of China*.

Born in South Dakota, educated at the Exeter Academy, the University of Wisconsin (Madison), Harvard and Oxford, a teacher at Harvard from 1936 until 1977, in government service in Washington and China from 1941 to 1946, Fairbank was a preeminent force in modern China studies for more than half a century. As a historian he authored, or contributed to some 65 books and 450 articles and reviews. His students went on to teach at more than a hundred universities in the United States and abroad. Through his writing, teaching and other professional activities, Fairbank deeply influenced the outlook and thinking of several generations of historians and China specialists in other disciplines.

Fairbank envisioned a distinctly American approach to China studies, which would move beyond European-based sinology by tackling contemporary topics, taking an instrumental approach to the learning of foreign languages, and forging a strategic alliance with the social sciences. He was both visionary and practical in helping to construct local, national and international structures for advancing the study of China.

As both actor in and interpreter of the turbulent course of Sino-American relations during the Republican and Communist eras, Fairbank believed that the recurrent tension between the two countries represented not just a clash of state interests but a deeper collision of civilizations. While cultural differences paved the way to bilateral conflict, nevertheless, he argued, an informed recognition of these differences was the starting point for managed coexistence. Throughout his career, he acted with the firm belief that scholarship and public policy must be developed in tandem.

Over the course of the past half-century, John Fairbank enjoyed a close relationship with *Pacific Affairs*, as advisor and contributor. His death marks the passing of an old friend of the journal.

*York University, Toronto*

PAUL M. EVANS